At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when undone in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some houses, kuhl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna, a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is not found in this area, nor is the technique used to prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstruation clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual 841
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths [833]
are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is possible to observe daily female residents of the lower classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces. These are either transient servants or migrants from the villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

Iraq the Sunna is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
most the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis- 795
session is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 186
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as [302]
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
despise clitorectomy, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
Negroid, as Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a
gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Even on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

peril. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the boys, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The older children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its over of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Rowandus tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering dervish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

wealthy sponsor in a room outfitted with beds and mattresses on which they are told to rest. Their mothers and other female relatives supervise them, and have a gathering of their own in one of the sleeping rooms. In the guest-room a large congregation of men, the fathers, relatives, and friends assembles. The mulla is summoned, and recites from the Quran. Another room is appointed for the operation itself, and in it the barber or darwish, several of the men, and the father of the boy being circumcised at the time take their stations. It might be noted that the boys, segregated in their room, are in a state of considerable trepidation, for they have not been informed what this festive and, at the same time, solemn occasion portends for them. A boy is led alone into the room of the operation and seated on a chair, his father standing next to him. The barber or darwish kneels before him, concealing the knife, and the foreskin is cut, theoretically before the child is aware of what has happened. At the same time a lump of sugar is placed in his mouth to prevent an outcry. The wound is quickly bound with a cloth bandage, and the boy is returned to his fellows. The barber or darwish usually accompanies his movements by muttering religious formulae of his own choosing or invention.

When all have been circumcised, they are allowed to rest and are visited by their fathers and mothers who congratulate them on their bravery. Meanwhile a great celebration ensues for the adults, separate banquets for

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or *berrish*, the *mulla*, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred *liasra*," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a *dishdasha* or cassock, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy is never practised, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

dilated and bloodshot, as they heavenly reiterate their [391.
achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" [719
over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their [518]
cure. They sell or give customers lumps of sugar on which [785].
certain symbols have been scrawled. It seems, this sugar
is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They
have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in [304]
various ways without experiencing pain. Shiji Mustafa
exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from
past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and
their tumultuous meetings, the dervishes commonly practise
white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the
most part shunned in everyday environment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. [391.
Shiji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but dis- [391]
dained the cash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap
with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the
mullah. On formal occasions, for example, when he was called
to the corral in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon,
Shiji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a [391]
walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists [788]
with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Shiji
Mustafa's dervish activities, observed in his house, con-
sisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine
perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the
traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed
gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and
a tattered copy of the Shahara (Arabic, "Tree") of 'Abd [391]

308 Beauty culture. Women's hair is not shaved on the side of the head in line with the mouth. Older women in the two village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu wear their hair long, plaited in an unusual[1] number of plaits. The cutting off of the side hair has led, in the case of the younger women of the village environment and all women in the educated urban milieu to cutting it all round the head so that the result resembles the European-American bobbed hair of the '20ies. A Kurdish woman's hair is rarely cut locks as if it were permanent wound, but I never saw any woman go to the hairdresser. The women cut each other's hair and that of their girls. Women's hair is black, but admixtures of blonde is not unusual in the case of small girls. Women often dye their hair red with *[illegible]*[2]. The result is a somewhat carroty tint. This is done in the case of young people and children for aesthetic reasons. On the other hand the grey hair of age is concealed by the aid of a double dye. The hair is first dyed red with *[illegible]* produced from the dried, pulverized leaves of *Lawsonia alba ([illegible])*[3], which is bought in the city in bare large ready for use (L. 2306). It is then dyed green with indigo (*[illegible]* *[illegible]*). After 24 hours, during which time the head is swathed in a cloth, the hair becomes the desired ash-black, rather heavy, colour[4].

Henna is also used to stain the soles of the feet, the palms of the hands, the nails, and the palms of the hand and finger tips[5]. This staining I only saw occurred to in the two village environments. Within the village environment this form of beauty culture is gradually becoming engaged in a struggle with European-American nail varnish which, like the former, can be purchased in the city and has also found its way to the villages. Nail varnish of whatever hue serves to emphasize the whiteness of the skin. The former dye takes it. Use of them both results in a most unfortunate meeting between East and West, particularly where the former dye predominates, since women in any case representing exogamy, while the nail varnish gives all, an varnish remover is not apparently indulged in, giving a very clownish effect.

309 Beauty aids also include eye make-up, kol, that is to say powdered antimony (S. 2306), kept in a small brocade bag, *kohdan*, (S. 2304a). Eye make-up is smeared on with a small wooden stick, about 0.02 m. long, *kohdan*, (S. 2304b-c), which is pushed over the lashes, the eye being kept closed[6].

American cosmetics could be bought in the city at Sulaimani, in the big store, Orosdi Back, and similar shops in Baghdad. A large flat velvet beauty box belongs to the possessions in urban environments. A bride coming from Sulaimani to a Kurdish village milieu will be very modern, but this is only practised on special occasions.

310 Tattooing[7], on the other hand, must be considered as belonging to the more permanent forms of beauty treatment, though it was not practised among the Kurdish women I had an opportunity of observing. Tattooing consists of single or groups of spots round the mouth, a stroke below the mouth, spots on the forehead, on the back of the hand, the lobes or between the breasts. It was said that tattooing was performed with an ordinary sewing needle dipped in a paste of eye make-up (antimony) or soot mixed with milk[8].

The birth of a girl in [illegible] might cause [illegible] neighbours' pity, or ridicule [illegible], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes, by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fixing ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that repels evil (see [illegible]).

Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to [illegible] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to [illegible], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 3 days old.

Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mulla, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Name (Dad)". Examples of names for boys are: 'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kemal, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qasim, Sa'id, [illegible], and for girls: [illegible].

In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surnames. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifur. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were Sheikh Taifur and his brother, usually called "[illegible]", but whose real name was [illegible] Sheikh 'Arif, who owned the villages of Topzawa and [illegible] in consort. There was also a third brother, [illegible] (Elder brother [illegible]) or Sheikh [illegible], who owned the village of [illegible]. The eldest son of Sheikh Taifur was likewise addressed as Sheikh [illegible]. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by [illegible] and [illegible], both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family and also that, as maintained by [illegible]: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name". As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness.

Additions like these, used in Arabia and Iran: "father of, slave of, son of ..." and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame Hansen). In addition - a peculiarity of the Kurds - the male title "Khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as [illegible] Khan, called Sheikh Taifur's wife [illegible] Khan, and was herself referred to as [illegible] Khan.

The Kurdish child. Analysis of the position of the child. As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

from which they enter, with high, narrow steps, led up. From the back wall of the room three were access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses in all [352] [347] ...ere spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should ensure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses facing the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of signatures of Kurdish dances and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 15. Into this [356] feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[99], came, when the marriage was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the feasting of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a bowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out [347] of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the coat and the sunshade from her own house. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[99], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[99], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers [348] of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The entrance was without halt, but this was no exception as women often went without halts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs that the absence of the halt was to make her prolific[99]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the lord was released and flew over her bearing its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by handling [347] over her and placing her hand first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[99], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women present scrutinized her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the silver given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseau, purchased with the bride price, to this was supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable factory-operated window set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 The bride was coloured on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a red, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a fancy [illegible] only one among Turkish women in Mardi, but it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

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Iraq

[31] personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[84] The Kurd is born into a world of
dancing and feasting, for relatives and
[85] friends celebrate his birth for three whole
days and nights. As soon as he grows old
enough to stand he toddles about the flat
roof of his house, occasionally throwing
stones over the edge at his brothers be-
[92] neath. When he reaches the age of five he
[293] is given clothes exactly like those of his
father—in miniature. He is a proud lad
when he puts on his first pair of baggy
trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and
several yards of coloured cloth wound
round his waist, more silken squares tied
round his head, and a yard or more of
cotton shirt-sleeve which he winds back
over his cuff.

[82] He has another great festival when he is

• 304

[text continues on p. 548]

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852 circumcised at about the age of seven.
304 Once more the relatives and friends gather, sweetmeats are produced, and there are two days of preliminary feasting and music to dim the pain of the operation. On the third day, when the operation is [535] performed, the rekkeid (national dance) is danced, in which men and women stand arm in arm in a row swaying backwards and forwards while music and singing fill the night with sound.

583 The next great event in the life of the young Kurd is his marriage. When he reaches about eighteen years of age, or earlier among the tribes, he takes a wife. Among the poorer people a girl of one family is exchanged for a girl of another family, and a double marriage takes place; or if one girl is too young, she is set aside as the *dogrew* or fiancée of the boy until old enough to be married (that is, about 14 years old in the case of women). So for a poor family the only expense incurred is three days of feasting and the

[538]